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Thesis

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Submitted by

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BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Chapter One

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

On October 26, 1760 the third George of the Hanoverian House ascended the English throne. For reasons or motives generally admitted today, which we shall discuss later, the first twenty years of his reign were marked by a notable attempt to revive the personal power of the sovereign which gave a consequent setback to the progress of Cabinet and party government. During these twenty years occurred an event which is of enormous importance to the British Empire and the American nation.

From 1775 to 1783 the British colonies in America struggled to wrest independence from the mother country. Because they were successful this "Civil War in the British Empire" is called the American Revolution. The formal outbreak of this war took place on April 19, 1775 when the colonists withstood the British at Concord Bridge.

This war is one of the most important events of the Eighteenth Century - the hundred years which hailed a triumphantly expanding England and closed with a tottering France. The importance of the armed struggle between the American colonists and their mother country has

become increasingly important because of the destiny of the two English speaking nations of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is ^agenerally conceded fact that History is not a science, and obviously not an accumulation of facts but the relation of facts to each other, and in pursuance of this idea we shall endeavor to relate this war to the other facts of contemporaneous British politics with special reference to the Parliamentarians of 1775 to 1783.

If the causes of the Revolution were not fundamental to our subject we might avoid their detaining us. But an understanding of the opinions voiced in the House of Commons and of the action of the King and the opposition during the Revolution in America makes it necessary to view the main causes of the breach.

The geographic separation of the mother country from her colonies seems to have fostered an institutional divergence between them. Two types of people had grown from the parent stock, the English of the Seventeenth Century. The sixteen-hundreds were troubled times in England and easily could foster divergence. The Americans carried away the idea of opposition to Absolute Monarchy and the Established Episcopacy and their isolation fostered and intensified this difference. The English lived through the troubled era to turn their backs on the extreme results of the Puritan Revolution, and restored, with modification, Monarchy and the Episcopacy. Separation and consequent isolation then tended to intensify the natural divergence.

In the American colonies there grew up a different attitude

toward representation than the one commonly held in the mother country. The colonial representative actually lived in and sat for his district. The British worked on the theory of 'virtual' representation of a given district by a non-resident. In England there were glaring inequalities and corruption, yet public opinion could make itself felt. America being but 'virtually' represented, found pressure by way of public opinion an impossibility, a physical impossibility. Since public opinion was not effective, and since the American held a natural tendency toward representative government, the logical result was repudiation of the British theory of virtual representation.

Independence is usually the result of training and experience. The colonists received some training in self-government in their town and provincial governments. Their common experiences in a new land generated a spirit of courage, resourcefulness and independence of restraint - the earmarks of all frontiers people. Having developed this spirit it was not difficult to develop many and various grievances against the Crown officials, those representative of a slow-working, graft-infested administrative system about to become extinct from a too heavy burden.

The commercial system of the British Administration was as potent as any of the causes of the Revolution. In conformity with the mercantilist theory of the eighteenth century, Parliament had passed many Navigation Acts with the purpose of making the colonies profitable to England by extending her commerce.

Mercantilism was a theory of state-making which held sway in Seventeenth and Eighteenth century Europe. It measured the wealth of a nation in gold or silver. Its principle was that all individual enterprise must be controlled by the state in the nation's interest. It was considered of paramount importance that a nation's trade should be so managed as to reduce the volume of foreign goods bought and therefore paid for with the nation's gold, while on the other hand every effort was made to produce for export and thereby absorb gold from neighboring nations. This was the "balance of trade" idea.

Colonies were considered the "children of nations" and for them mercantilism "meant subordination to the mother country, prostitution^{1.} of their economic welfare to the interest of a selfish parent." Dominated by the spirit and principles of mercantilism the British Parliament for over a century enacted laws to regulate colonial trade. The Navigation Acts required that all colonial trade should be carried on in ships built and owned in England or the colonies, and most of the colonial products, like tobacco, sugar, indigo, copper, and furs, were in a list of "enumerated goods" which could be sent only to English ports. It is true that this system advanced England to the place of leading Europe in the Eighteenth Century, and as we shall see its dire effects upon the Empire it is well to remember its constructive powers. It even helped the colonies by stimulating their ship-building and shipping.

The American criticism was directed at the menacing fact that

1. Van Tyne, "England and America " P. 31

"nearly all they bought and sold must pass over British counters and
1.
through British custom-houses to British profit and to colonial cost."

However, rigid enforcement of the trade regulations was never attained, due to the difficulties in maintaining an efficient customs service. In 1733, for example, the Molasses Act was passed placing high duties on rum, molasses and sugar imported from foreign colonies to the English plantations. The rigid enforcement of this act would have ruined the American three-cornered trade in molasses, rum, and slaves between the West Indies, the colonies, and Africa. But non-enforcement made the British commercial system only a potential grievance - one which for years existed in possibility. The enforcement came when the colonies were self-sufficing and sufficiently removed to feel resentment.

The Seven Years War, from 1756 to 1763, was a world war involving Europe and the colonies of France and England in a duel for Empire which resulted in a world triumphant England. This war and its results cannot be overlooked as a pertinent cause of the American Revolution. It was a precipitating agent inasmuch as it gave to the English colonies a sense of unity, a martial spirit, and removed the only menace to their safety by the transference of Canada to Great Britain. The removal of the presence of the French from Canada was a loosening of one of the most powerful bonds of union with the Home Country. Just as these were positive results of the Seven Years' War— or French and Indian War as it was called in the colonies— in contributing to the revolution, there was also a negative result as

CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early attempts to explain the phenomena of life, and then proceeds to a more detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced. The author then discusses the progress of the science of life, and the various methods which have been employed to study it. He then proceeds to a discussion of the various branches of the science of life, and the various theories which have been advanced in each of these branches. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is well illustrated with numerous figures and diagrams. It is a valuable work for all those who are interested in the history and progress of the science of life.

telling as the positive. The war furnished the occasion for the new British policy, the Grenville program, which gave a tremendous impetus to revolt.

George Grenville "was altogether lacking in that quality which is the touchstone of great statesmanship, the quality of historical imagination";¹ and his program was so vital a cause of the Revolution that it has entitled him to membership in the famous trio who dismembered the empire which Pitt the Elder by his successful management and unwillingly-waged but successful wars had built up. The other members of the trio are George III and Townshend, whom we shall consider presently.

The war had left England with an enormously extended Empire but with^a a terrific National Debt which had England reeling under the resultant taxation. The war had certainly benefited the colonies by the expulsion of the French from North America, yet it was extremely probable that France, when she could, would try to recover her dominion in America. The Government saw the need of defense, and at the same time the impossibility of over-burdened England undertaking the project. Ireland and India supported subsidiary armies for defense, therefore the Government concluded America should do likewise. Grenville suggested a new stamp tax, the proceeds of which he assured the colonists would be spent solely in America. Despite the fact that the colonists denied the parliamentary right to tax, after a languid debate in the House of Commons, the act was passed in January 1765.

The Stamp Act was an innovation. Other restricting measures

1. Encyclopedia Britannica.

like the Molasses Act had definitely been called Acts of Trade. The Stamp Act of 1765 was of another category. It sought a fair equality in the payment made by the various colonies - a worthy object in a way for it attempted to rectify the existing inequality of taxes between colonies. Plans attempting to equalize taxation between the colonies had been the seed of many suggestions of colonial union like Franklin's plan of union or the instructions of the Board of Trade: "The necessity of this union and the security and advantage which will arise to the Colonies from it are so apparent that we hope no
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difficulty will occur on their part." Yet the Act, which was of so slight importance in the session of 1765 in the estimation of the ordinary Englishman, was truly of another category and differed from a regulation of trade. It was - as Pitt called it - an internal tax which he claimed the House of Commons had no right to levy upon unrepresented Americans. American opposition grew by increasing proportion. The Stamp Act was cried about New York streets as "the folly of Eng-
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land and the ruin of America." The "Stamp Act Congress" met at New York and sent to the King and both Houses of Parliament remonstrances in respectful and moderate language objecting to the taxes imposed without the consent of representatives. Legal business came to a standstill. There were violent demonstrations. A colonial governor had to issue orders "authorizing non-compliance with the Act." The most effective policy of the Colonials was their agreement not to consume English goods. It was a discomfort but it severely affected

1. Egerton - "The American Revolution," P. 74. From "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York."

2. Van Tyne, "Causes of the War of Independence"

British merchants and was the prime cause of the subsequent repeal.

All this, augmented by the King's dislike of Grenville's ministry which was weak and unpopular with Parliament, led to the calling in of the Marquis of Rockingham with a Whig ministry. It was a makeshift on the part of George III who submitted to the Whigs only while making other arrangements to augment his personal power.

The Rockingham ministry, though not strong, carried through important remedial measures and might have placated the American agitation. It has been called a "mixture of wornout veterans and raw recruits." Its leader was a modest amiable and upright landowner who, unfortunately, knew nothing of business. His secretary was a man of tremendous importance, the most philosophical of statesmen or orators—Edmund Burke. It was he who recognized that it was not in the field of abstract rights that practical discussion lay, but that the practical argument of expediency was the course for the wise statesman. His two speeches on the subject filled London with wonder. The intense pressure of the British merchants for repeal, on the grounds that the Stamp Act with its subsequent American non-importation had ruined their trade, brought about the repeal of the Act. But to the displeasure of the Rockinghamites the repeal was tagged with the Declaratory Act, maintaining the right of Parliament to tax the colonies.

Pitt who had championed the colonies in the question of the repeal was opposed to the Whigs of powerful family connections like Rockingham. He finally was prevailed upon, in 1766 despite his ill

Health, to form a ministry at whose head he placed the Duke of Grafton. This is the "Mosaic Ministry," the one pieced up by Pitt without a following. Next year Pitt accepted a peerage, becoming Lord Chatham, thereby eliminating himself from his most effective field — the Commons. At about the same time his gout, a chronic illness with him, grew worse, and he retired for two years.

Upon his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend seized the leadership of the Grafton Ministry. His budget of 1767 was defeated on a vote to reduce the land tax. Rashly, he attempted, instead of resigning to make up the deficiency by duties upon American commerce. America was in such a state that a wise policy would have been to abstain from all taxation. But Townshend proposed and the Act carried imposing port duties on enumerated articles providing that the revenue raised be employed in maintaining civil officials independently of the Colonial Assemblies, with the surplus to be used for troops. There was also an Act making customs service more effective by establishing an American Board of Commissioners. Townshend died in 1767 before the Acts were passed, but he left them as a dire legacy in the provocation of a split in the Empire.

The Grafton Ministry was very weak; and it was of the greatest importance in the carrying out of its policy of taxation that it should provide for effectually enforcing the payment of such taxes. A second repeal caused by the refusal of the colonists to submit to the authority of the laws would greatly aid those in the colonies with a desire for

independence. Townshend was succeeded by Lord North, a loyal henchman of George III, whose arrival in the cabinet made a distinct step forward in the King's plan for personal control. This ill-fated ministry of the Duke of Grafton was forced also to face the case of John Wilkes and his Middlesex Election. It was an internal expression of discontent, with a reprobate, Wilkes, as hero of the populace, contesting the right of Parliament to exclude a duly elected member. This event is of interest to us only as an indication of the popular discontent in England lest we feel it was concentrated upon the American side.

Colonial non-importation agreements were made which hit British Trade so that the ministry proposed to remove all the Townshend duties except those of three pence a pound on tea. This should have been the time for conciliation it would seem. The act passed, but it was announced by the bungling Secretary of State for American affairs, Hillsborough, in a "harsh and ingracious" letter to the colonies.

Pitt, now Lord Chatham, came out of his retirement in 1769 and denounced the Ministry's American policy and its attitude in the Middlesex Election case. By throwing himself into opposition to the ministry which he had constructed in its original form, he really forced the Duke of Grafton's resignation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord North, was called to lead a ministry by King George. North's ascendancy marked the end of the famous Eighteenth century Whig oligarchy. George would now be able to reign and rule as well.

At this crucial period when placation might have changed the turn of all events, the famed "Boston Massacre" took place (March 5,

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1770). It was a scuffle between the British troops and an irresponsible Boston crowd. It is an indication of the pitch of American excitement, and it turned the tenor of British policy to fatal disciplining of the erring child. The event was important in hastening the crisis.

By leaving the tea tax only and removing most of the duties against which the Americans had complained the British committed themselves to a policy which mixed finance with Parliamentary authority and thoroughly obscured the issue. The question of Parliamentary supremacy was an underlying cause of the break which shows further the institutional divergence between the two branches of the English race. The Americans repeatedly denied the right of Parliament to tax them, and claimed to be subject to the King alone. Little did they realize that he was the main difficulty in the way of conciliation. In this dispute between the Colonies and Parliament a fundamental difference of opinion was at issue. Parliament, since the Revolution of 1688 had been supreme in England. The Americans failed to grasp the significance of this. They held their charters, written documents of their rights, supreme over legislative enactment.

In England the law was interpreted strictly when considering the Empire. American lawyers spoke of "rights" and what ought to be, little realizing the extent to which British traditions were feudal and aristocratic. The Englishman and the American were both sincere, but they stood at opposite poles, each misunderstanding the other.

As Van Tyne has put it, "Logic and legal precedent would beat in vain against American convictions, formed under frontier experiences, in a new land, far from Westminster where law and precedent were sacred." 1. A spirit of compromise was needed, but the experience of man had not yet sufficient light to offer. Edmund Burke analyzed the question and arrived at its most reasonable solution. In his famous "Speech on Conciliation" he admitted the validity of the right to tax but made a superb plea against its expediency. The right might be on the British side, but the exercise of it was unwise, he claimed. Time of course has glorified his wisdom, yet we must remember the fundamental differences between the two sides in the argument - the strict legalism of the old homeland against the demand for "right" of the frontier - in order to comprehend the significance of the question of Parliamentary supremacy as a cause of the war.

The 'American patriots' were so irked by the tea tax that when an attempt was made by the East India Company - the monopolist which the regulation favored - to sell their tea in Boston, the patriots staged the Boston Tea Party, December 16, 1773. Three cargoes were emptied into the sea. It was an attack upon property - John Adams admitted this - and England was incensed. Not only were George III and his subservient ministers shocked into a desire for redress and punishment of the offenders, but the spirit was high, "within and without the House." 2. Boston must be made an example of; Massachusetts must be checked from further resistance! Accordingly, the year

1. "England and America" P. 105

2. Egerton, "The American Revolution"

1774 marked the passage of four "Penal Laws." First, Boston harbor was closed and the port transferred to Salem until the tea was paid for. Second, the charter of Massachusetts was amended so that the power of the governor was increased; the nomination of councilors was transferred to the Crown; town meetings, "nurseries of sedition," were prohibited without the consent of the Governor. Third, all cases of capital offense in Massachusetts were to be taken to Nova Scotia or England for trial. Fourth, a quartering act - always an odious instrument to the Colonist - was passed.

These measures of coercion resulted in an organized resistance of the thirteen colonies. The acts of 1774 were the cement of the close union of the colonies. Perhaps there is no better indicator of what conditions actually were than to read the letters of persons vitally concerned. The Earl of Dartmouth, for the Administration, wrote to General Gage in Massachusetts on June 3, 1774 that, "It is to be expected that every artifice which has been hitherto used with so much success, to keep alive a spirit of sedition and opposition in the people, will be exerted on the present occasion, to entangle and embarrass; but the King trusts that by temper and prudence on the one hand, and by firmness and resolution on the other, you will be able to surmount all obstacles that can be thrown in your way." Such was the faith of the Administration in its capability. But a return letter of September 2, 1774, informed him that, "The flames of sedition had

spread universally throughout the country beyond conception....Civil Government is near its end; the courts of justice expiring one after another....Nothing that is said at present can palliate; conciliating, moderation, reasoning is over, nothing can be done but by forcible

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means." A little later he added, "They talk of fixing a plan of government of their own; and it is somewhat surprising that so many in other provinces interest themselves so much in the behalf of this. We hear of nothing but extravagancies in some part or other, and of military preparations from this place to the province of New York, in which the whole seems to be united....The disease was believed to have been confined to the town of Boston, but now it is so universal,
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there is no knowing where to apply a remedy."

Another Act of the same year which offended the colonists was the Quebec Act which tried to settle the problem created by the acquisition of Canada in 1763. It extended the boundaries of Canada, granted freedom of worship to Roman Catholics, and allowed them to be tried by French law in civil cases. As to government it provided a Governor - General who was to be assisted by a Crown - appointed legislative assembly, with no representative assembly, taxation being reserved to the British Parliament. The act really was an excellent measure in treating the French, but the Colonists felt they were being discriminated against, were being hemmed in by a Catholic foreign group, and they were infuriated.

At this time there were many expressions of the wish to go

1. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Volume 18, P. 86

2. Ibid.

back to the conditions of before 1763 - expressions by Burke on the one hand and the Continental Congress of 1774 on the other. But the possibility of turning back may be doubted. The American spirit had rapidly mounted high. Coercion brought unity. The first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774 with representatives from all the colonies but Georgia. It expressed the hope of averting conflict but was insistent upon redress. Aggressive in its resentment, it passed the Suffolk Resolves which looked forward to armed resistance if necessary, demanded revocation of the Acts of 1774, drew up a declaration of rights, framed non-importation and non-exportation agreements, and sent a petition to the King and address to the English people.

The American resistance was variously received and regarded by Parliament. The sentiment for strict discipline was strong. In the words of George III, "The die is now cast, the colonies must either submit or triumph. I do not wish to come to severer measures, but we must not retreat; by coolness and unremitted pursuit of the measures
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that have been adopted I trust they will come to submit." By the election of 1774 Parliament came more than ever under the control of George III, and his "Friends" were quite unanimous in the desire to see punishment administered in the name of "Right." Chatham commended the colonists for their courage, and warned Britain of the possibility of French intervention if open rebellion ensued. Both Chatham and Burke, early in 1775, offered conciliation schemes which were not passed.

1. Mumby, "George III and The American Revolution," P. 323

Petitions of the commercial towns, which^{ch} were hard hit by American non-importation and wished relief, were shelved. Lord North favored conciliation but he was subservient to the King. Finally, after gaining the consent of the King, North moved that if any Colony would pay its quota toward the common defense and expenses of civil administration no taxes would be imposed except regulations of trade.

The olive branch at last! Yet it was shorn of all allurements and merely aroused the suspicion of the Americans. Indeed, it was too late. Massachusetts was already in rebellion. On the 19th of April the Colonial "Minute Men" met the British at Lexington and Concord; with this skirmish the united colonies and Great Britain were at war.

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CHAPTER TWO

Parliament and George III's Personal Rule

"There has scarcely been a great revolution in the world which might not at some stage of its progress have been either averted, or materially modified, or at least greatly postponed, by wise statesmanship and timely compromise." ^{1.} As we viewed the causes of the American Revolution we noticed a rather apparent inevitability and at the same time many precipitating factors which might have been avoided under a different administration. The possibility of any change or modification would have been through some human agency. It seems that the greater amount of modification of the progress of the American Revolution would have had to come from the older and stronger side in the contest. As we lift the veil from the historically draped figures to inquire into the lives, philosophies and activity of the Englishmen who participated in a Parliamentary manner in the Revolution we discover a group of Englishmen attempting to direct an Empire with at best but vague ideas. The group, from the standpoint of the biographer, is becomingly framed in the atmosphere of the Eighteenth Century with its grand manner, its strict formalism, its intense Britishism. There is Lord North, revoicing George III's will, supported by the bribed "King's Friends," and upbraided by the scintillating opposition of Fox, at the times of Pitt, and always of Burke.

1. Lecky, "The Political Value of History"

Very dramatic and compelling groups have dominated the House of Commons, but few have been more interesting especially to those seeking to understand the springs behind the workings of British policy in the American Revolution.

While considering the causes of the Revolution we observed that George III, George Grenville, and Charles Townshend were the trio responsible for precipitating the Revolution. George Grenville, the brother-in-law of Pitt, was the stubborn minister of 1763 to 1765 who dared to read lectures to George III. He was the one who inaugurated the series of regulations after the Seven Years' War which we have seen greatly aggravated the break between England and America. The year of Lord North's ascendancy, 1770, marks the end of Grenville's life. Charles Townshend, a man of "boundless wit and ready eloquence, marred¹ by unexampled lack of judgment and discretion," had died before he realized or had impressed others with the folly of his scheme of Colonial Administration. Thus we see that two-thirds of the "trio of responsibility" had been eliminated by death before the revolution culminated. This leaves to us a consideration of George III and the Parliamentary conditions he created and dealt with during the conduct of the war.

George III was the son of the Prince of Wales, Frederick, a man who before he died caused his kingly father George II much discomfort by incessant quarrelling. When the old king died England welcomed the ac-

cession of his twenty-two year old grandson, for the grandson was a typical Englishman. He was not a German exiled to the English throne as the two preceeding Georges had been. He was an English-born prince whose characteristics greatly endeared him to Middle-class England. Under the supervision of his mother, Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, assisted by the Scottish Lord Bute, George had been tutored, but this was only a pedantic gesture. The young prince had no regular training. In the absence of profitable instruction, when he was faced with a problem requiring knowledge and insight he was forced to rely upon his one resource, obstinacy. This obstinacy was necessarily used often.

We are all familiar with the advice which the queen mother incessantly gave her son. But when she urged him to 'be King' she failed to give him the proper training. As a consequence George III came to the throne deeply committed in his mind to an absolute theory of kingship, and wholly unequipped with the education and insight by which alone it could at any time have been successfully practiced. There is an explanation however of the amount of influence George was able to cultivate. It lies in his private character. There was kindness, courage of a kind, and simplicity in his personality. Perhaps it was his simplicity and his choice of agriculture as his favorite occupation which led Middle-class England to worship "Farmer George." What is more, in an age when a pure family life was not expected of a sovereign, George's family life was impeccable.

CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It begins with a definition of the term "philosophy" and a discussion of its history. The author then proceeds to a discussion of the various branches of philosophy, including metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and political philosophy. The second part of the book is devoted to a more detailed examination of the various branches of philosophy. It begins with a discussion of metaphysics, which is the study of the nature of reality. The author then discusses epistemology, which is the study of knowledge. This is followed by a discussion of ethics, which is the study of morality. The final part of the book is devoted to a discussion of political philosophy, which is the study of the nature of government and society. The author concludes the book with a summary of the main points discussed in the preceding chapters.

Yet this man of a simple, pious English private life became over-conscious of his own rectitude. He treated those who differed from him with a rudeness, vindictiveness and treachery. We may let Drinkwater describe this dualism in George for us: "It would be difficult to find a more decisive contrast than that afforded by the private and the public characters of George III. In the one we have a kindly and considerate gentleman, a little dull it may be, but warm-hearted, honest and full of generous impulses. In the other there appears a figure of stupid and habitual arrogance, capable of any spite and petty cunning, grossly incapable of understand^{ing} or the attempt to understand anything beyond the shuffling of offices or the deft placing of a bribe, suspicious of ability, jealous even of his own fawning shadows, and intolerant to the point of insanity of the very name of independence." 1.

George III, the public man, was very successful in inaugurating plans for personal power. He had found a situation quite favorable to increase of strength in the monarchy. There was no longer a challenge to monarchy in the form of the Stuart House, for they had been discredited in 1745. Pitt's victories had brought loyalty, enthusiasm and lustre to the Crown. It was natural that an Englishman should be proud of the triumphant and world-leading place England held in the world. It was also natural that he should be well-inclined toward the monarch who symbolized the successful nation. With the prestige which inflated respect gave to him George was able to manipulate Parliament so as to

1. The first part of the report deals with the general conditions of the country and the state of the population.

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24. The twenty-fourth part deals with the results of the census and the distribution of the population.

break the Whigs and place himself in control of administration by a hold upon the majority of the legislature.

The King formed a party - his "Friends" - which he led satisfying its simple needs, and maintaining it in office. He was his own First Minister and Chief Whip after 1770. His experiment in politics verged toward success at home. The Whigs were helpless, because Parliament, due to bribery and intrigue, was for the King, and the Whigs professed belief in government by Parliament. He was using the Tories as henchmen to give him influence instead of building up the Tory party on a strong footing as a counterpoise to the corrupt Whig Oligarchy. He kept his puppets in office by virtue of lavish bribes and pensions - a feat made possible by strict private economy. Instead of reforming the representative system and the public service, this naturally increased parliamentary and official corruption. The capture by corrupt means of a majority in Parliament and the use of puppet ministers explains George's initial success with his personal power scheme.

Knowing that George's sentiments about the kingship were those based upon the obsolete but appealing advice he found in Bolingbroke, and knowing also the method he used in pursuance of the theory, it is easier to understand the Parliament of the years between 1775 and 1783. The Americans repeatedly assured King George in their petitions that they were opposed to the treatment which Parliament was administering to them. They begged a personal union. It took them a long while to realize that the man from whom they sought justice and fair treatment

was the manipulating politician who controlled the majority in Parliament, stifled the Opposition, and carried out measures to punish their insubordinations because he hated to yield in his personal ideas of Empire management. "Had George III possessed the gift of historic imagination he might have sought to reign as a patriot king¹ over a galaxy of separate Parliaments." But, lacking large or imaginative views, having once formed his opinion he clung to it with all the persistency of his inherent obstinacy.

The chief aid to George III from 1770 to 1783 was Frederick North, Second Earl of Guilford. He was George's grand puppet. It will be noticed that his incumbency lasted from the time that George was able to curb the Whigs, by splitting the Opposition thereby establishing a balance in favor of personal power, until George's policy had been tested by the American Revolution and found wanting. It is fairer to Lord North to admit that he often attempted resignation from the premiership. He never carried through his attempts however because he let his personal reverence for Monarchy and his friendship for George III overpower his judgment. North's father had been friendly with Frederick, Prince of Wales, George's father. The Norths as a family had been connected with the House of Hanover by official duty since the beginning of the century. Perhaps this explains Lord North's pliancy to royal will - it was a family habit.

An extract from a letter of Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell, both Tories, relative to the appointment of Lord North as

1. Egerton, "The American Revolution"

Prime Minister will give an idea of the attitude toward him of those at court. "Lord North bids fairer for making an able and good minister than any we have had a great while, Lord Chatham excepted, whose conduct this winter (1770) has cancelled many of the obligations this country owed him for his services in administration. I think also 1. that our heats are subsiding, and that men are coming to their sense." This opinion seems to show not only the approval stamped upon North, but the blissful complacency of the King's party. The reference to Chatham is to be expected. Chatham had performed irreparable service to England during the fifties and sixties, but on January 7, 1770 he expressed himself definitely at the opening of the session at Westminster in favor of reform at home and in the American colonies. This was naturally obnoxious and incomprehensible to Tories, hence their opinion that no more was owed him.

North has been called by one writer, "The embarrassed man who with his sovereign and General Washington was the official architect of 2. the American Republic." Perhaps this is true, yet North's contributions were negative as compared with the other two "architects"; both Georges actively carried out their own beliefs in the struggle, whereas North added his bit by not resigning, by playing a part half unwillingly. Previously we have spoken of the English responsibility for the struggle as fixed upon Grenville, Townshend and George III. Lord North was omitted because he came when power was in George III's hands, in fact he symbolized it - he was George's own minister. He carried out well

1. Mumby, "George III and the American Revolution" P. 289

2. Guedalla, "Fathers of the Revolution"

the duties laid down for him by an ever busy but unaccomplished monarch.-
Political management was North's art, and for the first four years of his ministry his sovereign rarely corresponded with him on larger topics. Then came the time when, at "46 min. pt. 6 p.m." on a winter evening in 1774, George discussed with him "the mode of compelling
1.
Boston to submit to whatever may be thought necessary."

Lord North was not a great figure. He had a family to live up to. He saw the possibilities in the position as King's minister and wanted the prestige it gave him. He was not brilliant, but he had a pleasing manner which would make political success not impossible. Therefore he took the Ministry. We are told that a candid tutor once said of him, "You are a blundering blockhead, and if you are Prime
2.
Minister, it will always be the same." He could not have been too great a blockhead for he met with excellent success in carrying out the King's political schemes, but he certainly blundered in staying too long with the King against his better judgment and convictions.

In his industry - an abundance of which seems to have been his always-George III worked through North to build up his majority against and Opposition which was disunited. The chief reason for its lack of unity was Lord Chatham's idea of party. William Pitt before 1766 had been called the "Great Commoner" but in that year he dumbfounded his friends by accepting a peerage as Lord Chatham. This act seems the height of inconsistency for it shut him out of the Lower House, the natural environment for his matchless eloquence. Yet closer examination

1. Guedalla, "Fathers of the Revolution"

2. Encyclopedia Britannica

of his life would reveal a man who seemed to disdain consistency. By the end of his life, the period at the beginning and just before the American Revolution, Pitt tried to exert his powerful influence, but he was then only a shadow of the Great Commoner counting for much upon the histrionic effects produced when he dressed to become his illness - the gout.

Pitt's ideas on party drove him from true opposition to a middle position. He hated all the old Whig family combinations - the oligarchy so powerful in the first half of the Eighteenth century. He would not countenance a combination with the Old Whigs led by Newcastle and later Rockingham. We have seen, when considering the causes, that if the Rockingham ministry of 1765-66 had been supported it might have effected a satisfactory conciliation with America, but inconsistently Pitt withheld his support. His followers were called "Pittites," and Lord Shelburne was his second in command. Others of the Whigs that
1.
"shifting system of unstable groups"-were the "Bloomsbury gang" led by the Duke of Bedford, and the Grenvilles led by George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law. Pitt had watched the corrupt machine-like political activity of these groups and had come to resent the idea of party. He saw them in classes struggling not against a common enemy for the protection of England, but in conflicts among themselves - triumphing at each others hands. Consequently, he proposed to have the best men of both parties who were backed by the people and voiced public opinion administrators of state.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of a new educational program on the learning outcomes of students. The program is designed to enhance the understanding of complex concepts through interactive learning methods. The study aims to determine whether the program is effective in improving student performance compared to traditional teaching methods.

The study was conducted over a period of six months. A total of 120 students were enrolled in the program, and their performance was monitored throughout the course. The data collected was analyzed using statistical methods to determine the significance of the results. The findings of the study suggest that the new educational program has a positive impact on student learning outcomes. The interactive learning methods used in the program were found to be more effective than traditional methods in helping students understand and retain information. This suggests that the program is a valuable tool for educators looking to improve student performance.

The results of the study have several implications for educational practice. First, the findings suggest that interactive learning methods can be used to enhance student learning outcomes. This could be achieved by incorporating more interactive activities into the curriculum. Second, the study highlights the importance of monitoring student performance throughout the course. This can help educators identify areas where students are struggling and provide additional support. Finally, the study suggests that the new educational program is a promising approach to improving student learning outcomes.

George III's idea was, we have seen, to put in office only those who served his purpose in establishing the royal supremacy. It is apparent that the points of view of George III and Pitt were opposed, but they agreed upon one thing - hatred of Party. This led to party disintegration, for the King was busy securing his control of Parliament by various means while the one man with prestige enough to stop him inconsistently refrained, because he shared the same belief - although from an entirely different cause.

Chatham resisted the policy of American taxation. In 1770 he expressed clearly and eloquently his opinion of the American situation. "They will never return to a state of tranquility until they are redressed; nor ought they; for in my judgment, my Lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights than to purchase a slavish tranquility at the expense of
1.
a single iota of the Constitution." Yet he argued in vain in a House little disposed to countenance the cause of popular liberty. Five years later, on January, 20, 1775, he still favored redress and conciliation for the Americans and moved to withdraw troops from Boston. He submitted a plan to establish for the Americans an unequivocal, express right of not having his property taken from him but by his own assembly. He warned the government that, "The whole Irish nation, all the true English Whigs, the whole nation of America, these combined make many millions of Whigs adverse to the system."
2.
We are familiar with the government's answer to his reasoning - it felt

1. Stanhope, "Life of Pitt"

2. Hansard "Parliamentary Debates. Volume 18 - P. 249

that having the right to tax implied the necessity of the exercise of it. These opinions of Chatham show us that Chatham was really in the Opposition, but he was not its leader because of his views on party and its place in a nation's government.

The leader of the Opposition was Edmund Burke. The struggle against the King's control of Parliament which the Whigs determinedly sustained was effected by the intellectual leadership of Burke. Woodrow Wilson has called him, "the Irishman who presented to England her own defense for existing as a government."¹ He was a thinker who applied his general ideas to problems of statesmanship. Burke was able to place the details of practical politics upon the background of his broad political philosophy. His nature was one of "exuberant intellectual curiosity and of strenuous and self-reliant originality."² For one so absorbed in practical and philosophical politics, he harbored an unusual distaste for the legal profession, preferring to try his hand in literature and determining to win for himself a position of power and preeminence denied him by birth or association.

Edmund Burke was born in Ireland of Irish parentage, a Protestant father and a Catholic mother. He was tutored by a Quaker, Abraham Shakelton, an excellent teacher. The two formed a friendship which was life long. Burke's training was finished in England after he completed his course at Trinity College in Dublin. But he did not "keep terms" long at the Temple, he turned to literature and in the ten years between 1750-1760 from the ages of twenty-one to

1. Wilson, "Mere Literature", essay on "The Interpreter of English Liberty" P. 104

2. Encyclopedia Britannica.

The history of the city of Boston is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a city of many centuries, and its history is full of interesting events. The city was founded in 1630, and since that time it has grown to be one of the largest and most important cities in the world. It has been the seat of many great events, and it has played a large part in the history of the United States. The city is a city of many firsts, and it is a city of many great achievements. It is a city of many great men, and it is a city of many great women. It is a city of many great things, and it is a city of many great people. The history of the city of Boston is a history of many great things, and it is a history of many great people. It is a history of many great events, and it is a history of many great achievements. It is a history of many great men, and it is a history of many great women. It is a history of many great things, and it is a history of many great people.

to thirty-one he wrote and read. During this era he developed his broad ideas of surveying human affairs; he resolved the greater problems of society independently by observations and the consequent application of them to a wide principle. He edited the "Annual Register" beginning in 1759 during the midst of the Seven Years' War. It took a large amount of political sagacity, and Burke proved himself clever with observations and firm in his judgments. Burke was becoming the master of the "grand style," the formal manner which so characterized his oratory in Parliament. He is the epitome of the Eighteenth Century style. The first question to absorb his energies with all their "grand style" was the American War for Independence.

When Rockingham became prime minister on July 10, 1765 Burke became his private secretary and remained his friend until Rockingham's death in 1782. As we have seen however, this Ministry could not withstand the coldness of the king, the hostility of the selfish Bedford Whigs, and the non-co-operation of William Pitt, so it gave up office in the following year. Then from 1766 to 1770 Burke became one of the chief guides and inspirers of a revived Whig party. More than anyone else - more even than Chatham - he gave the Opposition under George III a stamp of elevation and grandeur.

In 1770 Burke produced "the ablest defence of party government
1
ever written," "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents." In it he showed up the court scheme of weak, divided, and dependent administration in the light of its real purpose and design; he described the
1. Lytton, "Quarterly Essays," "Burke and Fox."

distempers which had been engendered in Parliament by the growth of royal influence and the faction of the king's friends; he showed that the newly formed Whig party (which he had helped unite from the factions of Chatham, Lord Temple and George Grenville with the Rockinghamites) was no mere family knot as the Old Whigs had been; and he asked the support of the nation against the faction privately instructed by the court against the general sense of the people. Let us observe some of his sentiments on party. "Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interests, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. For my part, I find it impossible to conceive that any one believes in his own politics, or thinks them to be of any weight, who refuses to adopt the means of having them reduced into practice. It is the business of the speculative philosopher to mark the proper ends of government. It is the business of the politician, who is the philosopher in action, to find out proper means towards those ends, and to employ them with effect." How different from the opinions of Chatham. It is no wonder that one holding such sentiments as these could never forgive Chatham his lapse from Whig Orthodoxy. Perceiving the views of the two leaders who were opposed to the Court policy is it not clear why the Opposition was disunited?

From 1770 to 1776 Burke was actively engaged stimulating, informing, and guiding the patrician chiefs of his party. He was inspired by a zeal for principle and exerted commensurate energy in developing his

party despite the fact that his patriotic friends preferred fox-hunting to politics. It is significant to notice that from 1767 to 1782 Burke drew up all the principal protests of his party. His interminable activity, his masterful presentation, and his firm conviction in his principles mark him as the leader of the Opposition.

About 1775 Burke was joined by a former Tory. First there was a concurrence in views on the American problem which eventually led to a consolidation of Charles James Fox within the Whig party. Charles James Fox is an attractive figure, a disciple of Burke, but unlike him not the essence of the Eighteenth Century. Burke possessed the grand manner, the formal style, the conservative consistency of an Eighteenth Century Englishman. Indeed anyone need not seek further a more English, a more conservative, or truer English man within the Court party itself even than Edmund Burke. Despite his birthright he honored, revered, and gave his services unstingingly to the preservation of the British Constitution. Despite his views on the American rebellion he was conservative as his later attitude toward the French Revolution shows. And because of his opposition to the Court, we of a century and a half later can see him as one of the truest English patriots ever to voice his petitions in Parliament. Charles James Fox a younger man by twenty years, shows less Eighteenth Century saturation.¹ He was as one of his biographers has pointed out, beyond the formal restrictions of Whigism and thereby the first English Liberal. Perhaps his differentiation from his great Whig friend is brought out more clearly in his approval of the French Revolution, the rock upon

1. John Drinkwater

The second part of the document describes the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed discussion of the sampling techniques used to select a representative group of transactions for analysis. The document also outlines the procedures for data collection, including the use of questionnaires and interviews.

The third part of the document presents the results of the analysis. It includes a series of tables and graphs that show the distribution of transactions across different categories. The document also provides a summary of the findings, highlighting the areas where the most significant deviations from the expected results were observed.

The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings for the financial system. It notes that the results suggest that there is a need for improved controls and procedures to prevent fraud and ensure the accuracy of the financial records. The document also recommends that the findings be used to inform the development of new policies and procedures.

The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the conclusions and recommendations. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records and the need for improved controls and procedures. The document also provides a list of specific recommendations for the management of the financial system, including the implementation of new controls and the training of staff.

The sixth part of the document includes a list of references and a list of appendices. The references list the sources of the data used in the analysis, and the appendices provide additional information on the methods used and the results of the analysis. The document also includes a list of figures and tables that are referred to in the text.

The document concludes with a statement of the author's appreciation for the assistance of the staff of the financial system in providing the data and information needed for the analysis.

which their splendid friendship was wrecked. The special interest of this study of the men lies during the era when they bent their efforts toward the American problem.

Charles James Fox was the son of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland and Lady Caroline Lennox. His family connections were conducive to a parliamentary life in support of the court. So it came about that this boy who lived a disorderly but never indolent youth, entered Parliament at nineteen years of age in 1768 and two years later was appointed junior lord of the admiralty with Lord North. He chose the unpopular side in the Middlesex election case asserting the right of the House to exclude Wilkes, and he and North were treated to a mud bath by members of the Wilkes liberty agitation. Although he was of the court ministry he was not pleasing to George III. The King was a man of orderly life, as we have noticed. Fox was not. He loved to gamble, (a family trait which cast the family its fortune). He had also many other habits attributed to him which were of the type that are particularly injurious to the reputation of a public figure. Testimony differs in regard to Fox's private life, but the report of scandal gains very little momentum by examination. It is necessary to consider it because references to his mode of life were often flung at him by the Court party when his logic had found them incapable of other answer - a gesture typical of their stupidity, insignificance and incompetency to meet the issue.

But as a Victorian commentator said, "Those, indeed, notably err,

who, judging only by the desultory social habits and dissipated tastes of Mr. Fox, conclude that his faculties attained their strength without the necessary toil of resolute exertion. The propensity to labour at excellence, even in his amusements, distinguished him throughout life." ^{1.} He and Burke were the tireless part of the Opposition; they were its inspiration and guide.

In February 1774 his insubordination, that is, his sympathy with the American colonies, made him intolerable to the King and he was dismissed from the minor post he held in the ministry. On July of the same year his father died removing the last influence which held him to the Court. He could now actively oppose what he felt was wrong in the Government's administration. He was ready to give himself to the influences of Burke's friendship. He might now learn of the true Whig Character presented with all the broad-mindedness and intellectual scope of Burke. Fox's own words express best the profound nature of Burkes' influence upon him: "If I were to put all the political information that I have ever gained from books and all that I have learned from science, or that the knowledge of the world and its affairs have taught me, into one scale, and the improvement I have derived from the conversation and teachings of Edmund Burke into the other, the latter would ^{2.} preponderate." Let us now consider the Parliamentary conduct of these two and the group they opposed during the years of the American Revolution.

On April 19, 1774 Edmund Burke delivered his great speech on

1. Lytton, "Pitt and Fox" in Quarterly Essays

2. Burke, "Speeches of Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke" - Introduction

American Taxation, "an oration replete with philosophy, and adorned with the most gorgeous diction." ^{1.} In it he showed the stupidity of the Crown's policy - the confusion resulting from the Stamp Act with peace and order attendant upon its repeal; the dire effects of the revival of the system of taxation and that partial repeal produced, not partial good, but universal evil. He begged that these considerations reestablish reason in the Administration's policy by perceiving the lessons of experience. He sought a consistent conduct on the part of Britain toward her colonies, and predicted that until the lenient system of 1766 (year of repeal of Stamp Act under Rockingham to whom Burke was secretary) was returned to there would be no peace for England. It was a masterful presentation arraigning the Ministry as the Opposition often did in the next eight years. It had a lucid quality showing complete mastery and comprehension of his subject which made an appeal to reason that could not have been disregarded except by a House insensible to imminent disaster. The fact that the House disregarded his logic and sent on their way penal measures to rapidly widen the breach merely proves the strength of the Court's control of the majority. It shows the torpor of the Government Bench in their refusal to understand the essentials at stake in the problem.

Through the rest of this year, 1774, American events, as we have seen gathered toward the crisis. With the new year Parliamentary debates on America were in full swing. London merchants dilligently pressed the demand for an unprejudiced examination of their claims, and

1. James Burke, "Speeches of Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke" P. 34

Burke seconded by Fox led their case. In February Fox told the government that they had for months been talking of the American rebellion, and asked why, if it were to be opposed by force, they had done nothing in all that time to prepare for it. He declared their policy morally indefensible, and that they were showing a total want of ability in conducting it. The King's party in turn led by North was loud in assertion of national honor, holding that American disaffection was a betrayal of trust to be sharply brought to account. North himself, not being entirely confident of carrying out these designs, on February 20, introduced a conciliatory resolution whereby the colonies would contribute to common defense in emergency and were to be exempt from crown taxation although the right to levy taxes was maintained. His own party felt this to be a confession of fear in the face of danger and to save the measure the ministry was forced to admit that there was no real intention of modifying the severity of their attitude toward the colonists. This strips the Court party of any claim to credit for sincerity in treating the American problem.

Burke presented his plan for conciliation with America on March 22, 1775. This celebrated oration which lasted three hours is one of the greatest of parliamentary speeches. It makes Burke the great English apostle of expediency. It is the great oration which modern Englishmen can look back to as the expression of true British Constitutionalism during a testing period. (And the fact that it was

rebuffed is sufficient explanation that the loss of the American colonies was due to a faulty system administered by grafting puppets to exalt a narrow-minded and uncomprehending monarch in his attempt to hold an impossible position.) It is the exhibition of British opinion during the American war that the English can be proud of; its exalted position is unquestioned also since time has so sanctified its truths. Such opinions as "Public Calamity is a mighty leveller" "The Proposition is peace....It is peace sought in the spirit of peace; and laid in principles purely pacific"...."Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle."...!"Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is: English privileges alone will make it all it can be." are familiar to us. They are the oft-quoted parts of his great speech of which the Duke of Richmond wrote, "It is so calm, so quiet, so reasonable, so just, so proper, that one cannot refuse conviction to every part." ^{1.} Richmond was a Rockingham Whig naturally well disposed toward Burke, but it is a worthy estimate.

Burke made proposals which he felt would place colonial administration on a basis of healthy and permanent co-operation, for the greater glory of the British Constitution. He held that North proposed to allow the colonists to decide upon the method of collecting taxes but reserved to the home government the right of decision as to what the taxes should be. This he called nothing more than "ransom by auction." He proposed to "leave the colonists with complete control as to both

1. Correspondence of Edward Burke quoted in Mumby, "George III and American Revolution." P.405

the nature and extent of their taxation, with an explicit understanding that they would consider themselves pledged to take what in consultation appeared to be a reasonable share of such imperial responsibilities as might arise." This was the enlightened statesmanship of the man who recognized that, "An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery." Space would limit the paraphrasing of the eloquent outbursts in which Burke and Fox arraigned the Government and constructively offered a solution for the American problem. We shall see, however, that the persistent volleying of Opposition oratory and contemporaneous ill-luck in America was effective in winning the approval of public opinion and finally a majority, by which the Ministry could be expelled. The Opposition's early resistance to the American war excited national prejudice, but by persistent criticism and challenge of the blundering ministry which was acting upon George III's obstinate refusal to countenance the thought of colonial independence, the Opposition won a public opinion hostile to the continuance of that luckless struggle.

The year 1775 saw the rejection of Chatham's and Burke's' conciliatory motions and the beginning of military operations in America. The Duke of Grafton because of his sentiments on the treatment of America was forced to resign the post of Privy Seal in ^{the} cabinet. This left him to join Richmond and the rest of the meagre Opposition in the House of Lords. In the cabinet changes consequent upon Grafton's

resignation Lord George Germaine became Secretary for the Colonies. Germaine was a vigorous but ineffective administrator. Under him commands were capriciously given and recalled; bad news was suppressed and good freely manufactured; criticism was drowned or intimidated; service was bought and promotions sold; all this of course was to the utmost satisfaction of his Majesty the King.

The Opposition now realized that its most effective field of opposition lay in emphasizing the faulty progress of the war rather than its evil conception. They did not want to win the war or to lose it. They wanted it stopped. It was apparent that as long as North remained in power the war would go on unless ended by some capital disaster. The one possible means of discrediting the minister was to make his conduct of the war notorious. And the Court played into their hands. The opposition took aim at the blunders and not the policy henceforth. At the beginning of the war the advantage in the field lay with the British, but determination and force were lacking--mal-administration told. Washington saw it and commented upon it when he wrote that if he escaped destruction he should religiously believe that the hand of Providence was in it to blind the eyes of the enemies.

In 1776 the Opposition were disheartened by their ineffectuality and the Rockingham Whigs ceased to attend Parliament for a time as a manifestation of protest. On October 31, 1776 in answer to the King's address which dwelt on the enormity of the revolted provinces in defying a benevolent form of government they pointed out that the

whole of British strength had been tried and had produced only a Declaration of Independence. They pointed out the absurdity of a continuance of the King's war. Again they reiterated that the proper course open to the government was a repeal of all oppressive acts and a recall of the army. When North pointed out that England was in the dilemma of conquering or abandoning America, Charles James Fox made his famous answer, "If we are reduced to that, I am for abandoning America.

What have been the advantages of America to this Kingdom? Extent of trade, increase of commercial advantages, and a numerous people growing up in the same ideas and sentiments as ourselves. Now, Sir, would those advantages accrue to us if America was conquered? Not one of them!"^{1.} But this only "infinitely amused"² King George who was still comforted by an overwhelming majority. The court seemed inaccessible to ideas of any kind.

Chatham's reappearance marked the session of 1777. He returned in his seventieth year to speak against the use of arms to subdue the colonists. He did not advocate colonial independence, but on the grounds of both expediency and justice he pleaded with the government for a radical reform of its policy - to repeal their aggressive acts, for he hoped that even yet they might recover their lost authority. The ministers little heeded Chatham, however, and the King was delighted to find that the 'specious words and malevolence of that extraordinary brain' so little represented the views of his loyal subjects."³ As the session closed, the policy remained unchanged

1. Drinkwater "Charles James Fox" P. 146

2. Ibid, P. 147

3. "Correspondence of George III and Lord North" in Drinkwater" C. J. Fox" P. 156

Chapter 1

The first chapter of the book discusses the importance of understanding the basic principles of physics. It begins by introducing the concept of motion and how it is described using kinematics. The chapter then moves on to discuss the forces that act on objects and how they affect motion. This is done using Newton's laws of motion. The chapter concludes by discussing the conservation of energy and momentum, which are fundamental principles of physics.

The second chapter of the book discusses the concept of energy and how it is transferred between different forms. It begins by introducing the concept of work and how it is done by a force. The chapter then moves on to discuss the concept of energy and how it is stored in different forms, such as kinetic energy and potential energy. The chapter concludes by discussing the conservation of energy, which states that energy cannot be created or destroyed, only transformed from one form to another.

The third chapter of the book discusses the concept of momentum and how it is conserved in different systems. It begins by introducing the concept of momentum and how it is calculated. The chapter then moves on to discuss the conservation of momentum, which states that the total momentum of a system remains constant if no external forces act on it. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of impulse, which is the change in momentum of an object.

The fourth chapter of the book discusses the concept of rotation and how it is described using angular kinematics. It begins by introducing the concept of angular displacement and how it is measured. The chapter then moves on to discuss the concept of angular velocity and how it is calculated. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of angular acceleration and how it is calculated.

The fifth chapter of the book discusses the concept of torque and how it is calculated. It begins by introducing the concept of torque and how it is the rotational equivalent of force. The chapter then moves on to discuss the calculation of torque and how it is affected by the distance from the axis of rotation. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of the moment of inertia, which is a measure of an object's resistance to rotation.

The sixth chapter of the book discusses the concept of static equilibrium and how it is achieved. It begins by introducing the concept of static equilibrium and how it is achieved when the net force and net torque on an object are zero. The chapter then moves on to discuss the calculation of static equilibrium and how it is used to solve problems involving forces and torques. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of the center of mass, which is the point at which the mass of an object is concentrated.

The seventh chapter of the book discusses the concept of fluid mechanics and how it is applied in different situations. It begins by introducing the concept of fluid mechanics and how it is the study of the behavior of fluids. The chapter then moves on to discuss the concepts of pressure and buoyancy, which are fundamental principles of fluid mechanics. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of fluid flow and how it is described using the continuity equation and Bernoulli's equation.

The eighth chapter of the book discusses the concept of sound and how it is produced and transmitted. It begins by introducing the concept of sound and how it is a mechanical wave that travels through a medium. The chapter then moves on to discuss the production of sound and how it is caused by vibrating objects. The chapter concludes by discussing the transmission of sound and how it is affected by the properties of the medium it is traveling through.

The ninth chapter of the book discusses the concept of light and how it is produced and transmitted. It begins by introducing the concept of light and how it is an electromagnetic wave that travels through a vacuum. The chapter then moves on to discuss the production of light and how it is caused by the acceleration of charged particles. The chapter concludes by discussing the transmission of light and how it is affected by the properties of the medium it is traveling through.

The tenth chapter of the book discusses the concept of heat and how it is transferred between different objects. It begins by introducing the concept of heat and how it is a form of energy that is transferred between objects. The chapter then moves on to discuss the concepts of temperature and heat capacity, which are fundamental principles of thermodynamics. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of heat transfer and how it is done by conduction, convection, and radiation.

although the Government was a little frightened at the prospect of foreign intervention.

The French had sent help to the Americans in 1777. In the following year France recognized the independence of the United States and made a treaty with them by the arrangements of Benjamin Franklin. It was the probability of this intervention which alarmed Chatham and called forth his last oratorical effort on April 7, 1778. This came after North had produced his promised Plan of Conciliation in February in which he really confessed defeat. He proposed two bills, one abrogating all right to American taxation, the other providing for a settlement of the colonies by treaty with Congress. He did this without knowing of the French-American treaty of February 6, 1778 which seems to show that the ministry recognized the American undertaking as a failure, but would not admit that America was lost. This is the time when North seriously and repeatedly expressed his wish to resign yet remained in office at George's urgent request. From this time on it appears that North acted reluctantly and against his better judgment. Perhaps the charges of outrageous conduct can be best attributed to his lack of moral courage shown in his failure to carry out his resignation.

Having noticed the tactics hit upon by the Opposition in discrediting the conduct of the war which was rapidly becoming discreditable and disgraceful, and having seen its effect upon Lord North of the ministry one fact becomes very evident, - the obstinacy of George III

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in "His War." He was convinced that if it lay within his power, and he felt it did, he would never countenance the independence of his rebellious colonies. Existing conditions - unsuccessful campaigns, a more vigorous minority, a new enemy and the possibility of another (Spain) - these meant little to him in the complacent assurance of his own rectitude.

The one course which the Government might have followed to a more successful close was recall of all the troops. This evidently lay beyond the comprehension of the ministry for they certainly heard it incessantly from the lips of Chatham, Burke and Fox. After this point in its career the ministry was doomed, and the day for an increase in the minority was dawning.

After the death of Chatham on May 11, 1778 following his collapse in the House of Commons thirty-four days before, the Whigs were still divided with the Earl of Shelburne succeeding as leader of the Pittites. As Shelburne emerged to prominence among the Pittites, Charles James Fox became increasingly more important a member of the Rockinghamites. In the progress of the treatment of the American problem cleavage in the Opposition is important. It effected the question of the peace particularly, as we shall see. Yet conditions made it that even a divergent Opposition could make inroads on the Ministry's Majority^{1.} in 1779. George was still using "golden pills" at election time to secure his majority, but public opinion was being affected, this meant an Opposition too strong to squelch.

George' ministry saw the necessity of Whig help. It proposed a coalition, but Rockingham would not consider an office with divided authority. This was well, for the proposal was but a step to save their own tottering credit and promised no reform in the American policy or limit to the Crown's authority. The Whigs now made attacks on the more odious of the Ministry's personnel. The removal of Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty, Lord Germain from the Colonial Secretaryship, and Lord North from the Exchequer was demanded. Analysis of the activities of this trio shows that they were most culpable in the carrying out of George's incapable scheme. Sandwich had given the House false information regarding the navy and had exposed Admiral Keppel to destruction on the French coast; Germain had given false reports of conditions in America and had disasterously attempted to direct campaigns to be fought in a place he had never seen; North had spent his time securing political support for measures which he knew were injurious to the imperial welfare merely because he feared a monarch's displeasure.

The criticism of the Ministry led to a decisive weakening in the majority held by the King. In June 1779 Spain declared war against England. Yet even in the face of this George could say that before he would admit a man to an office he would expect him to sign that "he is resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops shall
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consequently be withdrawn from America nor independence ever allowed."

He may not have seen, but his ministers and his "loyal Opposition" knew that his views would soon be modified.

France and Spain had come into the war against England. The Opposition had been arguing the American cause. Therefore their stand upon the question of war with the two foreign powers was critically watched. Some critics have found them wanting in patriotism, Fox, in particular has been condemned. On the whole however, they discriminated very carefully between the Americans whom they believed to be Englishmen splendidly resisting an unconstitutional Crown, and France and Spain who were using England's embarrassment for their own interests. Proof of their patriotism seems to lie in the full support they gave to measure against the foreign powers. The winter of 1779 and 1780 saw a rapid growth in the feeling of opposition to the apparent corruption of Parliament and the unwarrantable influence of their crown. It foretold the coming dissolution of George's friendly ministry.

In February 1780 Burke introduced his plan for economical reform which was not adopted but much of which was carried out afterwards. A fact very significant of Parliament's changing tendencies is seen in the reduction of the Court's majority to but seven votes. Then on April 6, 1780 John Dunning of the Opposition moved audaciously, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The motion carried by 233 votes to 215! In the

Ministry astonishment was followed by consternation. The majority of eighteen votes in the hands of the Opposition meant that North's overthrow was in sight; it meant the end of arbitrary sovereignty in England.

There happened in June of the same year the "Gordon riots," fanatical uprisings against the Concessions of 1778 to the Catholics. This diverted English attention, and, since the Ministry represented as Drinkwater points out,- the only means of law and order its position was slightly strengthened. North saw an opportunity to advance the idea of a coalition. Rockingham, having become more practical, stipulated the incorporation of Richmond, Fox, Keppel, Portland, Burke and himself into the cabinet or important places. This was highly distasteful to George, and once more he curbed his ever faithful minister. Yet the dissolution of his forces dragged on. The Parliament of the session of 1780 and 1781 gave the court a compact majority for the common run of business, but it was faced with the threatening problems of insurrection in India and belligerency on the part of Holland as well as the execution of the present war.

The son of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt the younger, joined the opposition to the Ministry in 1781 by supporting Fox in a bill objecting to a certain government appointment. Here was the auspicious launching of another great English statesman, and even in his youth his name gave added weight to the force of the momentum-gaining Opposition. This session rose in July 18 to meet again at the end of

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November. In the interval Lord North realized it was all over as far as his administration was concerned because the British commander Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. Still George III refused to concur in North's opinions. He was for the pursuance of those designing enemies who were "equally prejudicial to the real
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interests of America and to those of Great Britain." he averred in his throne speech.

The Opposition flew at the King first and then at the ministry. It attacked their principles and their actions. This set the King's apparently secure ministry on the verge of collapse. On February 22, 1782 after lengthy arraignment of the government by all the Opposition Fox moved to put an end to the American War. The ministry was saved by a majority of one, 194 against 193. The younger Pitt came forward with exhortations "to withdraw confidence from the present administration" which kept the House from adjourning for consideration of the case. News of the surrender of the island of Minorca to the French came and the government itself was forced on March 5, 1782 to bring forward a bill "to enable his majesty to conclude peace, or
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truce, with the revolted colonies of North America."

Thus had the Opposition by its undeniable logic, its superb oratory, its persistent leaders, argued its way to a majority, but not until General Washington with his American farmers and French naval aid had proved actually the same point.

1. Drinkwater "Charles James Fox"

2. Hansard - Parliamentary Debates Volume ~~XX~~111

Chapter Three

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS AND THE KING'S FAILURE.

The American Revolution was more important for its political effects than for its military preeminence. It was a tremendous feat for thirteen poorly - organized and loosely - united provinces to throw off the control of the greatest power in the world. Yet there were certain fundamental impediments to British success. In the first place, it was a contest of ships, men, and money against distance and uncivil accommodations. Besides, when arrived, an army was confronted with a lack of governmental or military concentration upon the part of the enemy. To these difficulties was added the fact that the British people felt no great enthusiasm in fighting the English of America. This all contributed to an attitude of mind on the part of the British which lacked vital energy.

It has been said that, "It was the Whigs who had, far more than the French fleet and armies heartened the Americans to resistance and^{1.} prolonged their chances of success." But irrespective of the psychological effect of the Parliamentary debates we shall see that as the campaigns in America progressed the Opposition continually interpreted the events in their proper light historically.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of securing soldiers to fight overseas or the long and dangerous passage, the British sent "the greatest

1. Fortescue, "Correspondence of George III" Volume 3, Introduction

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fleet and army that England had ever sent across seas" to New York in 1776 under the command of the two Howes. This army of the mother country was really well disciplined, it suffered neither from short service terms nor lack of uniformity as did its adversary. The British army with its well ordered regulations met that which was not an army at all. The American colonists were remarkably unprepared, their army but an improperly equipped militia. By undertaking rebellion they cut off their English source of military supplies, and it was a kind fate that gave them foreign aid. They were not self-sufficient, in fact, nine-tenths of the munitions of war which made Washington's campaigns of 1776 and 1777 possible came from France. The American may have been cheered^{by} the opinions expressed by the Whigs in Parliament, but the best explanation of success probably lies in the physical geography of the battle scenes and the lack of energetic pursuit on the part of the organized enemy.

The war began April 19, 1775 at Concord and Lexington in Massachusetts where anti-British feeling ran highest. The next month, May 26, 1776 the King said to the Commons at the closing of the session, "It gives me much concern that the unhappy disturbances in some of my colonies have obliged me to propose an augmentation of my army, and have prevented me from completing the intended reduction of the establishment of my naval forces. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the cheefulness and public spirit with which you have granted the supplies for the services of the current year."

1. Van Tyne, "England and America" P. 125

2. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates. Volume 18 P. 699

This is the expression of the confident controller of the government who had stifled the Opposition and was ready to set out to penalize the in-subordinate subjects.

The execution of the plan for penalizing was not carried through efficiently. Although the British won the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, the moral victory went to the Americans. It was, as Sir¹ William Howesaid in his report, "a success too dearly bought." After a nine months siege of Boston by the Colonials the King's troops were forced to evacuate on March 17, 1776. They sailed for Halifax to prepare for participation in the attack upon New York.

At this time the Opposition raised a loud cry against the use of foreign troops. Lord North in turn for the Ministry "declared himself averse to the employment of foreign troops, but where a great constitutional point was to be carried, and which could not be carried² without them he saw no objection to their being made use of."

Colonel Barre for the Opposition maintained that "America would never submit to be taxed, though half Germany were to be transported beyond the Atlantic to effect it." It was at this time that American realized that not redress but separation was wanted. As a result July 4, 1776 a document from the pen of Thomas Jefferson setting forth the causes of the ill feeling toward Great Britain was presented to the world - the Declaration of Independence. This definite step upon the part of the colonists led the King's party to favor strict punishment for the Colonies and any movement of the Opposition toward the cessation of hostilities

1. Fortescue, "Correspondence of George III," Volume 3 P. 131

2. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Volume 18 - P. 858



or the removal of the causes of the issue was instantly balked.

The campaign of 1776 centered around New York. Washington went down from around Boston with 19,000 men to oppose Howe and Clinton whose combined forces were about 25,000. Washington was driven from Long Island and Manhattan over the Hudson river into New Jersey and finally across the Delaware river. Then he revived the American hopes by capturing the unsuspecting Hessian mercenaries on Christmas eve after recrossing the Delaware. The harshness of winter ended the campaign. The next year General Burgoyne produced a promising ^{plan} for the British. New England was to be cut off, and concentrated force aimed at the middle and southern colonies. This plan necessitated the co-operation of Howe who was to march up the Hudson river as Burgoyne marched down from Canada. Howe failed in his share of the responsibility. He went to Philadelphia in hopes of returning in time to join Burgoyne, but Washington waylaid him at the Battle of Brandywine. Then he spent another month in opening up Chesapeake Bay. The time for co-operating with Burgoyne passed; Howe turned to an easy winter in Philadelphia while Washington's miserable army spent a devastating winter at Valley Forge. Burgoyne meanwhile on October 17, 1777 surrendered to the American general Gates.

In the parliamentary debate in the House of Lords November 18, 1777 on the Address of Thanks to the King after his speech at the beginning of the session we may observe the Opposition's opinions upon the war thus far. Chatham, in remarking the defeat of the British at

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Saratoga, said, "My lords, you cannot conquer America. What is the present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps total loss of the northern forces; the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines. He was obliged to relinquish his attempt, and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant time of operations. We shall soon know and in any event have reason to lament what may have happened since. As to conquest, my lords, I repeat, it is impossible." This seems to be fair criticism of the administration whose three campaigns had failed. Surely the commanders of the British forces were answerable for their conduct. The occupation of only two towns by the British was not an indication of military success. Blame should be driven home to the Ministry which was responsible for the campaign plans. The Opposition lost no time in pointing this out.

In 1778 the British planned to hold New York, but to make the South the arena of the war. In June 1778 Clinton, recently appointed Commander - in - chief returned to New York to meet an expected French attack by sea. The French had been actively assisting since the treaty between France and the United States which was signed following the Americans victory at Saratoga. In November 1778 Clinton sent forces to Georgia which captured Savannah and opened the way for the invasion of South Carolina. The British under Clinton made a new attack on

1. Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates" Volume 18 P. 363-364

Charleston, having been unsuccessful in 1776. Overwhelming numbers on the part of the British forced the Americans to surrender May 12, 1779. The British followed this up by the victory at Camden, one hundred and twenty-five miles inland.

In the face of this apparent success the Whig, Wilkes, reiterated the futility of the whole project. "A series of four years' disgraces and defeats are surely sufficient to convince us of the absolute impossibility of conquering America by force, and I fear the gentle means of persuasion have equally failed....The American resources are gone... Acknowledge the independence of America, you have a chance of detaching her from France, of forming perhaps with her a most advantageous commercial treaty and federal union." But the King's control of Parliament was still unchecked. He was able to point with pride to the successes in Georgia and Carolina when he spoke at the opening session of October, 1780, trusting that they would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion." Needless to say he took this opportunity to urge the need of more money in financing the "happy conclusion."

Altogether, 1779 was a difficult year for Washington with the treason of his able general, Benedict Arnold, the deplorable condition of the Continental currency, and the dampened enthusiasm of his countrymen. The taking of Vincennes in the Northwest by George Rogers Clarke, and the entrance of Spain into the war against England were but slight bright spots on the American horizon. But the next year the test of

1. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates Volume 19, P.1339

2. Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates" Volume 21, P. 809

the struggle turned against the British. At home agitation was quickening against the Crown's war. Internationally, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Russia were leagued in an armed neutrality threatening Great Britain from a commercial stand point. It was time for America to co-operate with the French naval aid and put over a critical stroke.

The Americans, as 1781 opened, were victorious at the Cowpens under General Morgan. Cornwallis urged upon his commander, Clinton, in New York the necessity of British concentration in the South. With the help of Arnold he hoped to win over the half-Loyalist South and defeat the French general, Lafayette, who was commanding for Washington in Virginia. Clinton did not send aid south to Cornwallis and meanwhile Washington assisted by Rochambeau marched south for an attack in co-operation with the French fleet under De Grasse. Cornwallis was forced to establish himself on a neck of land at Yorktown. Aid was cut off from him by the French fleet and he was forced to surrender his forces, October 19, 1781.

Although the declaration of the cessation of hostilities did not come until April 19, 1783 by proclamation from Washington, Yorktown marked the end of the war for it marked the failure of the British to execute control militarily as well as legislatively over the American colonies. The question now was peace. George III expressed his attitude to the problem in speech at the closing of the session in June 1782. "The extensive powers with which I find myself invested to treat

for reconciliation and amity with the colonies which have taken arms in North America, I shall continue to employ in the manner most conducive to the attainment of those objects, and with an earnestness suitable to their importance....My ardent desire for peace has induced me to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of my wishes.^{1.} Thus it was that the vanquished one accepted his defeat with many words and apparent approbation.

Before we leave the consideration of the war itself, which was in its outcome the actual proof of the arguments presented by the Opposition against such a policy, let us turn briefly to the question of the importance of French aid to the American cause. The French changed their policy from secret aid to one of open alliance with the United States after the news of the American victory at Saratoga in October, 1777. It marked a change in the conduct of the war; England now had an international situation to face which proved too rigorous for the powers of the Crown's forces. The benefits of the French alliance, which was to hold until American independence should be acknowledged, were manifold. It added greatly to American prestige. It furnished military and naval aid in the service of Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Admiral d'Etaing. The presence of the French fleet in Chesapeake Bay was the cause of the surrender of the British at Yorktown. It influenced the entrance of Spain into the war in 1779. France furthered with all her diplomatic force the formation of the Armed Neutrality in 1780 whereby Europe stood by in firm restriction of British sea power. Considering these results of the French alliance with the Americans it is plain to see

1. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Volume 22, P. 679

the importance of French aid as a determining factor in the American revolution. The military and naval participation in the war itself and the formation of an anti-British European situation were potent factors in causing the failure of the King's war.

The failure of the war meant a change in the Ministry. It meant the admission of the truth in the contentions of the Opposition. It meant the recognition of the independence as a nation of the King's former subjects. It meant the necessity of his treating with his European foes. We have thus far considered the causes of the war in America, the conditions in England which worked against a different treatment of the problem, and the war itself. We have watched the slow dissolution of an impossible policy with its attendant circumstances. Now let us watch the signing of that peace which was so distasteful to George III and which was executed by Parliamentarians on the whole equally distasteful to him.

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it gives a good impression of the general state of affairs.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country. It is a very detailed and thorough treatment of the subject, and it gives a good impression of the general state of affairs.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country. It is a very detailed and thorough treatment of the subject, and it gives a good impression of the general state of affairs.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country. It is a very detailed and thorough treatment of the subject, and it gives a good impression of the general state of affairs.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country. It is a very detailed and thorough treatment of the subject, and it gives a good impression of the general state of affairs.

CHAPTER IV

Parliament in 1783

King George was touched by the pathos of his own position as he bade farewell to the minister who had served him so faithfully for twelve years. On March 27, 1782 he wrote to North, "At last the fatal day has come to which the misfortunes of the times and the sudden changes of sentiments of the House of Commons have driven me of changing the Ministry, and a more general removal of persons that I believe was ever known before. I have at last fought for individuals, but the number I have saved, except my Bedchamber, is incredibly few---The effusion of my sorrows has made me say more than I intended, but I ever did and ever shall look on you as a friend, as well as a faithful servant." ^{1.} What excellent proof this is of lack of comprehension on the part of the monarch. Thus it was that the old order changed.

Lord Rockingham led the new ministry as first lord of the treasury with Shelburne and Fox as the secretaries of state and the Duke of Grafton as lord privy seal. It was a group of those Whigs who had most openly criticized the principle and conduct of the King's war. Burke, who had been one of the most unceasing in his work while in opposition, received an appointment but not a cabinet appointment...He seemed to stand outside the circle of hereditary legislators, but, despite his comparatively unimportant position as paymaster-general of the forces, he played an important role during the session of Parliament. This ministry like the first Rockingham ministry lasted but a short time, from

1. Drinkwater, "Charles James Fox" P. 214

March to July, 1782, but accomplished very much relatively. It had come in by the pressure of the combined Opposition which cried for reform and it set out to attend the more obvious needs. Burke carried his measure for economic reform which abolished many abuses in the civil list thereby saving the government 72,000 Pounds. Legislative independence was granted to Ireland. Government contractors were excluded from the House of Commons and revenue officers were debarred from voting at elections. These measures are of importance to us because they show the tendencies for reform at work in the Ministry.

Peace negotiations were started and here the cabinet split. Rockingham, supported by Fox and the guidance of Burke was determined in his opposition to undue influence of the crown. Shelburne on the other hand, although he had remained fixed in his opposition to the American war, was in sympathy with the Crown's view on independence. Therefore George looked to Shelburne in hopes of making another Lord North. Shelburne was Secretary of State for the Northern Department dealing with the affairs of America and Ireland. Fox was Secretary of the Southern Department dealing with the affairs of Europe. There seems to have been personal differences which caused friction as well as a difference in principle. Fox wanted to recognize the independence of America so as to detach her from the French alliance; Shelburne wanted the acknowledgment of independence one of the conditions of a joint treaty with the allies. Whichever view was accepted the Secretary favoring it would conduct the negotiations. Co-operation between the two

grew steadily less possible with Shelburne showing a marked inclination to Royal influence. Soon this ministry, which was supported by a meager majority, saw that Shelburne must either leave or wreck the cabinet. Diplomatically Shelburne was checking his fellow secretary in preparations for the peace treaty. He sent young Oswald to negotiate with Franklin while Fox sent Thomas Grenville; and the young man, believing he was to be invested with full powers for the peace, crossed much of Grenvilles' power. Franklin and the French statesmen recognized that the two envoys represented jealous ministers and in this condition they saw their opportunity. An open break between the two secretaries came and on its heels the death of Lord Rockingham. The King called Shelburne, the only member of the cabinet he chose to confide in, to lead a new ministry. Fox resigned and with him went a few of the less important ministers among whom was Burke.

The main work of Shelburn's ministry was the negotiation of peace. At this time the task was lightened some by the success of the British under Rodney in the West Indies. De Grasse, the French naval commander whose co-operation had given the Americans their needed strength at Yorktown, was captured and his fleet ruined. Yet the war had dragged on long enough; it was evident from the way England was outnumbered and the size of her ^{debt} that time for peace had come. "After many disputes about forms, and some unnecessary delay, the terms of the peace between England on the one hand, and America, France, and Spain on the other, were settled, in the latter part of 1782." 1

1. Lecky "England in Eighteenth Century." Volume IV P. 271

The provisional articles of peace between England and the United States were signed on November 30, 1782 and these with France and Spain on January 20, 1783. Oswald and Fitzherbert represented England; Vergennes, France; D'aranda, Spain; and Franklin, John Adams, and Jay the United States.

In the treaties with the European powers England naturally ^{lost} some possessions but as much as she had ^{gained} in 1763. We need not analyze the concessions made, but as Lecky says "On the whole the treaties (With France and Spain) were probably as good as could be expected, and it is not likely that a continuance of the war would have ameliorated the position of England." ¹ The treaty with the United States was more decisive. Since Parliament had already passed a resolution in favor of the recognition of the independence of the United States the negotiations were simplified somewhat. First of all however there was noticeable a tremendous amount of diplomatic friction between France and the United States over the fact that the Americans considered the preliminaries for a separate peace despite the agreement that neither party should do it. Franklin, in his sagacious and cautious diplomacy, tried not to alienate France and at the same time maintain his stand by pointing out that "nothing had been agreed to in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France." ² He did sign a separate peace, and excuse for so doing has been found in the American lack of illintentions and the complex and insincere note of French diplomacy. The three main questions considered were those concerning boundaries, private debts owed by

1. Ibid - P. 273

2. Justin Winsor. "Nay. and Critical History of America" Vol. VII Chap. II

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry must be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. The text then moves on to describe the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It also covers the process of identifying and addressing potential biases in the data collection process. The second part of the chapter focuses on the analysis of the collected data. It discusses the use of statistical tools and techniques to identify trends and patterns in the data. The text also covers the importance of interpreting the results of the analysis in the context of the research objectives. The final part of the chapter discusses the importance of communicating the findings of the research to the relevant stakeholders. It emphasizes the need for clear and concise reporting, as well as the use of visual aids to enhance the presentation of the data. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key points discussed and a list of references.

Americans to English citizens, and the Loyalists.

On the question of boundaries the negotiations met with difficulties. Shelburne, in hopes of laying the foundations of future friendship, acted as liberally as possible. The land between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was acknowledged a part of the United States, only the right of navigating the Mississippi being held. The Canadian boundary was fixed on a new intermediate line extending through the Great Lakes, the Americans holding the right to fish in the Newfoundland banks and Gulf of St. Lawrence. These arrangements were dissatisfying to the Opposition who felt too much was being ceded; they became one of their means of attack in criticizing the Ministry.

The question of the recognition of debts incurred by American citizens to English citizens before 1775 as binding was really a question of simple honesty. There was a lengthy dispute but finally it was settled in a clause sustaining the legality of all such bona fide debts.

The welfare of the Loyalists was a point of honor with the British. They wanted to see the restoration of the Loyalists to their country, their rights and their property. The Americans refused to countenance this demand. They merely assured the delegation that no more confiscations would be allowed, and that Congress would recommend to the legislatures of the states to restore confiscated goods of the Loyalists. The British did not carry their point of honor well; this was another target of criticism from the Opposition. By this peace we see that everything the United States might plausibly demand from England was

obtained. Her ally France did not fare as well; the conquests did not counterbalance financial ruin. England suffered from a dismembered Empire and a terrific debt. Yet America, "Although she had been reduced by the war to almost the lowest stage of improverishment and impotence, gained at the peace almost everything that she desired, and started with every promise of future greatness upon the mighty career¹ that was before her."

This peace which meant so much to America and which was the most important act of the Shelburne administration was not popular in England. The terms, it was felt, left much to be desired by a patriotic Englishman. Added to the strength of this criticism was Lord Shelburne's own unpopularity because of his arrogance and self-sufficiency. These were causes of a speedy resignation of Shelburne. We must leave the account of the coalition of North and Fox who had found common cause in their displeasure with Shelburne and were willing to bury their past disagreements. We must leave the story of the Whig party which we have watched while it did pennance in opposition while the cause it advocated was unppopular until finally time proved it right and it was restored to favor upon the failure of the King's War and his ministers. To continue would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

The most important event of the Eighteenth Century was over. The importance lies of course in the effect upon the history of the United States and the British Empire in the succeeding century and a

1. Lecky - "England in Eighteenth Century" Volume LV P. 284

The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the ground was very dry. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor. The weather was very hot, and the ground was very dry. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor.

The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the ground was very wet. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor. The weather was very cold, and the ground was very wet. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor.

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The fourth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the ground was very wet. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor. The weather was very cold, and the ground was very wet. The crops were much injured, and the people were very poor.

half which bears out the contention that it is not the fact but the relating of the fact to other facts which gives historical significance to an event. The Revolution has not been treated minutely. We have had neither the space nor the proper selection of facts to make a minute discussion. The aim of this paper has been to show a relationship between the momentuous eight years in America and the British Parliamentarians. If the proper lines have been fully developed to give a reasonable picture the result is a realization that any view which emphasizes tyranny and malicious intent to ruin the colonies as the *raison d'etre* of the Revolution is unsupported by historical fact.

When we consider the divergence between the two peoples and the misconceptions fostered by isolation, the effects of the state-building theory of mercantilism, the lax administration of the colonies by a mother country due in some degree to the lack of experience in the face of a new problem, the lack of understanding and interest of the majority in Parliament, the fatal effects of the policies of George Grenville and Charles Townshend, the misused power of an obstinate and untrained monarch, the unfailing reasoning of a valiant but numerically insufficient Opposition - when we consider all these factors the cry of tyranny seems weak. As Harlow says, "Tyranny was probably farther removed from their thoughts than anything else. The chief concern of those actually in office was to hold on to their jobs, while those less fortunate were pulling wires to get in. Incidentally, they tried as honestly and as conscientiously as men could to do something worth while with those

puzzling North American questions. Nothing would have pleased them better than to see the wheels of government move smoothly because then they and their friends would find it easier to turn their offices to
1.
good account."

We have said that the American Revolution was of importance to the British Empire. In this statement there is more included than the idea of the costly dismemberment, the loss of its most valuable colonies. The American Revolution with its disastrous results for the British shocked Britain into a consideration of policy. It hit the prestige of George III so vitally that a personal power in a sovereign was forever to remain unrevived. It taught England at the greatest of all schools, experience, the need of a different Empire policy thereby paving the way for the extraordinary British Commonwealth of Nations of the present.

To the winning side-the Revolution meant life in a new form. It weakened and tested the nation, but gave it the right to establish a government to meet the present needs and prepare for a promising future. That right was maintained by those who opposed with excellent reason the machine of George III in Parliament as well as by the fiery oratory and cannon balls of the Americans. It is now easy to see the problem as an English political issue, a party cry based upon an obvious wrong. The British Parliamentarians have presented to us a view of the American Revolution which claims justification from theses not held by

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the Americans but justification none the less. The Opposition of 1775 and 1783 has come to represent to us the more intelligent, the more patriotic of the Eighteenth Century British-and this because of their stand on the American Revolution.

Bibliography

Becker, Carl-----"The Eve of the Revolution"

Yale University Press

1918

A volume easily read on the feelings forming the emotional background of the Revolution. I found the chapter, "Testing the Issue" most applicable to my subject. The author is an historian of good repute, and he treats his subject effectively.

Drinkwater, John-----"Charles James Fox"

Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York

1928

This treatment of the life of Fox in one volume I found very helpful. It placed much emphasis upon the political development of Fox and treated the actual political situation clearly and fairly. It is interesting to compare the explanation of the Whig stand in this book with the criticism of it found in the comments of Fortescue's "Correspondence of George the Third." I used the book for reference through Chapter Ten, page 216.

Egerton, Hugh Edward-----"The Causes and Character of the American Revolution"

Oxford University Press

1923

This book by an Englishman is an approach to the subject, "without prejudices derived from the traditional struggles of English Whigs and Tories." Just the fact,-that it treated the Revolution mainly

from contemporary evidence and not from its constitutional or political aspect, made it of particular value to me in the treatment of the war itself with respect to its own era. The whole volume was used.

Fortescue, Honorable Sir John William----"Correspondence of George III"
Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London 1928

Volumes 3, 4, and 5 of the six valuable volumes of George III's correspondence were used covering the period from 1773 to 1783. This source with Hansard's "Parliamentary Debates" forms the best primary source for the period covered in this thesis. The introductions to each volume were particularly helpful. They are a well presented defense of the activities of George III and North blaming the Whigs very strongly for unpatriotic opposition. In support of each argument concrete facts and references were given.

Green, Walford Davis-----"William Pitt"
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York 1901

The full title of this book is "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham and the Growth and Division of the British Empire, 1708-1778" It is a heavy treatment of a weighty subject. Chapters 8,9,10 were used, covering the period from 1770 - 1778, pp. 303-382. It is an old-style biography and the reading will not be found as easy perhaps as in Guedalla or Drinkwater, but the subject has been covered very adequately and with a dignity which is appealing.

Guedalla, Phillip-----"Fathers of the Revolution"

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York

1926

This book is a treatment of the various important personalities of England, France and America in the American Revolution. For the sake of effect it seems that at times the author makes his judgments too definite to be exact historically. However, Guedalla's observations are very keen and valuable for an understanding of the eighteenth century attitude of mind.

Hansard, T. C. publisher-----"Parliamentary Debates"

Volumes 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 were used. I read those speeches, debates, and proclamations relative to the American question. It is a most valuable primary source. It would be very interesting, it seems, just to follow through George III's attitude as expressed in his speeches to the two houses of Parliament during this period. They show the adroit politician in the king I think. Hansard's publication is invaluable to the study of this period.

Ralph
Harlow, ~~Frank~~ V.-----"Growth of the United States"

Henry Holt and Co.

1925

This volume was used for the consideration of British policy and maladministration as a cause of the breach. His brief but adequate treatment of the British political situation is good.

Lecky, William Edward Hartpole-----"A History of England in the
Eighteenth Century"

Longmans, Green and Company, London 1882

This work on the Eighteenth Century in England is perhaps the best and most scholarly treatment of the period. Volume four was the one I used for this paper in particular. It covers the period from the end of the war to the signing of the peace. It should be included as one of the invaluable works on the period.

Lecky, William Edward Hartpole-----"The Political Value of History"

D. Appleton and Company, New York 1893

This is a short lecture of Lecky's delivered at a historical association meeting. It is of interest in particular as the statement of the main idea of history as held by an outstanding historian.

Lytton, R. H. Lord-----"Quarterly Essays"

George Routledge and Sons, London 1875

In this group of essays the one on "Pitt and Fox" was used. It is a Victorian treatment of the two statesmen of a century past. A comparison of this essay with the lives of both men, which I also read presents an interesting study of the Victorian idea of the most valuable type of statesman.

Mumby, Frank A.-----George III and the American Revolution"

Constable and Co., Ltd., London

1923

This volume is mainly a compilation of the correspondence of King George with relation to the Revolution interspersed with the authors interpretation of contemporary events. It is well arranged and treats the question with fairness.

Trevelyan, George Otto-----"American Revolution"

Longmans, Green and Co.

1898

Volume I, pages 1 to 289 were used treating the period from the effect of the Stamp Act to the failure of all attempts at conciliation. It is a scholarly and clear presentation of facts showing the ministerial impotence and American indignation. It contains a very fair estimate of North, Burke and Fox with excellent treatment of the parts played by George Washington and Benjamin Franklin in the struggle.

Van Tyne, Claude H.-----"The Causes of the War of Independence"

Haughton Mifflin Company, Boston

1922

The whole volume is a series of excellently prepared lectures clearly presenting the conditions conducive to Revolution. The bibliography and footnotes are particularly helpful, and the chronological development is well maintained.

-----"The War of Independence" 1929

The book is written as a second volume in the series on the

"Founding of the American Republic." It is written in the same vein as the volume on the causes and carries the reader through the first half of the war with remarkable ease and clearness. The chapter on "Public opinion in England" (8) was more helpful for this paper.

Van Tyne, Claude H.-----"England and America

Macmillan Company, New York

1927

This is a small volume of a series of lectures on conditions before and during the Revolution. They are very interesting, but since they were intended as lectures they lack the thoroughness which a bibliography and footnotes would have added. The lectures on the lawyers, the soldiers, and the armies of the opposing sides were very well presented and gave the whole problem the fair treatment which seems typical of Van Tyne.

Winsor, Justin-----"Narrative and Critical History of America"

Haughton Mifflin and Company, Boston

1888

Volume VII Chapters One and Two were used. Chapter I, "The United States of America 1775-1782. Their Political Struggles and Relations with Europe," by Edward F. Lowell. This is a treatment of the European background and explanation of the American success even though hampered by unskilled diplomats. Its bibliography is excellent. Chapter II, "The Peace Negotiations of 1782-1783" by John Jay. This is a colonial estimate of the problem of the Peace and the evaluation of the achievement. There is also a very helpful bibliography. It should not be overlooked in covering the period.

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